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True bimetallism

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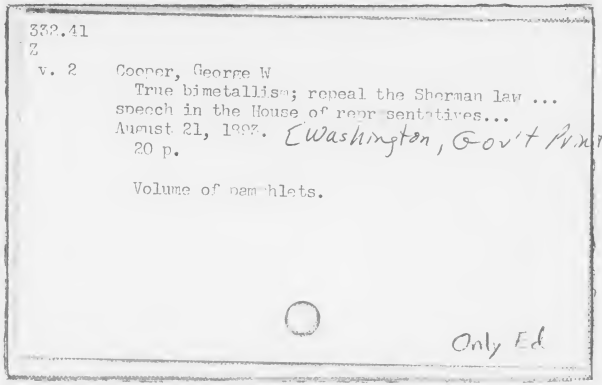

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True Bimetallism.

Repeal the Sherman law, make the silver dollar as good as gold, and all the dollars equal.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE W. COOPER,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, August 21, 1893.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes"—

Mr. COOPER of Indiana said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The President, exercising that discretionary power lodged in him by the Constitution of the United States, has convened the Congress in extraordinary session. The emergency which has impelled him is clearly and strongly set forth in the message which is before us. "The existence of an alarming and extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people," to which he directs attention, is by him clearly traced to the operation of certain financial legislation, the evils and dangers growing out of which the executive department of the Government finds itself powerless to stay or avert.

This legislation is embodied in what is known as the Sherman law, passed July 14, 1890. The first section of the law directs "The Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof," and to issue in payment therefor United States Treasury notes.

It is this provision of the law which it is now proposed shall be repealed. The repeal bill reads as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month at the market price thereof, not exceeding one dollar for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed; but this repeal shall not impair or in any manner affect the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio or such other ratio as may be established by law.

This bill, as will be observed, has two distinctive features:

First. It stops the purchase of silver bullion.

Second. It protects the silver which we now have from depreciation, and maintains its legal-tender quality.

Mr. Speaker, there ought to be no necessity for the discussion of either of these propositions. The purpose of the enforced purchase of silver bullion by the Government, as openly expressed at the time of the adoption of that policy, was to enhance its price—to bring if possible its commercial value back to that relative position with gold expressed in the legal ratio of 16 to 1. In this it has utterly failed. If this failure to realize our expectations as to the rise in the value of the silver bullion were the only unfortunate outcome of this legislation there would be no sufficient provocation for this extraordinary session.

But, sir, it is not because those who are interested in mining and marketing this precious metal have been disappointed that we are here, but because, in our effort to force into our circulation a vitiated current we have poisoned our whole financial system, brought dismay and distress to our business interests, and finally, idleness and want to our laboring people. If there has been any attempt at a defense of this measure I have not read or heard it, and if any yet remains to be made, I can not conceive upon what ground or along what line it can be done.

But, sir, by a kind of parliamentary jugglery this real vital issue upon which it appears we could all agree and to dispose of which we are here convened, this urgent, burning demand for relief is postponed, and while the country suffers and waits we are to make a test of the strength of each of an assortment of views upon kindred financial measures.

Six independent propositions offered as substitutes for the repeal bill are to be disposed of first.

First, the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1;

Second, the same at the ratio of 17 to 1;

Third, at the ratio of 18 to 1;

Fourth, at the ratio of 19 to 1;

Fifth, at the ratio of 20 to 1; and

Sixth, the substitution of the Bland-Allison law of 1878.

Mr. Speaker, what is meant by the term ratio as applied to the coinage of gold and silver, and whence comes the necessity for legislation upon that subject? By ratio in this connection we simply mean the relation which these metals sustain to each other in point of value. When we speak of a given ratio as 16 to 1 we mean that 1 pound of gold is worth 16 pounds of silver, or *vice versa*. In a country where these metals are both coined into currency the necessity for establishing this ratio by law is easily understood. In our country the unit of value is the dollar. Now, when this dollar is to be made of different metals, as of gold and silver, the very first thing that would suggest itself would be how much metal shall each piece contain. By the act of April 2, 1792, our fathers adopted the Spanish milled dollar as the monetary unit. I quote the language of the law:

That there shall be, from time to time, struck and coined at the said mint, coins of gold, silver, and copper, of the following denominations, values, and descriptions, viz: * * * dollars or units, each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar, as the same is now current, and to contain 371¼ grains of pure or 416 grains of standard silver.

In 1837 the weight of this dollar was changed to 412½ grains, and that is the weight of the standard silver dollar to-day. How much gold now should be put into a gold dollar, which was to

circulate by the side of this silver dollar, which was to perform the same functions, take the place of, or be exchanged therefor? Clearly it must be a dollar's worth of gold. It became, therefore, necessary to ascertain how much gold the dollar agreed upon would buy, and this amount, whatever it might be, should be contained in the dollar to be coined of gold. At this time—1792—Hamilton estimated that in the commercial world 1 pound of gold was worth 15 pounds of silver, and therefore adopted the ratio of 15 to 1. Section 11 of the law of 1792 reads as follows:

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the proportional value of gold to silver in all coins which shall by law be current as money within the United States shall be as 15 to 1, according to the quantity in weight of pure gold or pure silver; that is to say, every 15 pounds weight of pure silver shall be of equal value in all payments with 1 pound weight of pure gold, and so in proportion as to any greater or less quantities of the respective metals.

THE WAR OF RATIOS.

Mr. Speaker, at the time the ratio was established there was no strife over ratios; no powerful interests were arrayed against each other; no silver miners demanding a market for their product; no "friends of gold" and "friends of silver" struggling for the mastery. Hamilton was a bimetallist and desired to furnish the people with a sound and stable currency coined from both the precious metals. In this view Jefferson entirely agreed with Hamilton, and they labored together to that end. But why, I ask again, was it necessary that some ratio should be established and observed for the coinage of these metals, and why should the ratio fixed by law correspond with the ratio as it existed in fact in the commercial world. Why not say one pound of gold shall be equal to one pound of silver, a ratio of 1 to 1? Because, Mr. Speaker, they would not so circulate. Whoever might have a gold dollar as large as a silver dollar would not part with it for a silver dollar, nor for a silver dollar's worth of goods. The thing would be preposterous upon its face. It must also be remembered that both gold and silver have other uses than as money. They are used in many different ways and are quoted in the markets and bought and sold as merchandise, the prices depending, like that of any other commodity, upon supply and demand. If, therefore, the ratio fixed by law does not correspond with the commercial ratio, it is clear that the coin which is undervalued by the law will drop out of circulation.

To illustrate: Suppose that when Hamilton fixed the legal ratio of 15 to 1, 15 pounds of silver were not worth 1 pound of gold, what then would have happened? Why, the man who had a pound of gold would not coin it into dollars which would be exchangeable with silver at that ratio, but he would sell it wherever he could get the greatest number of pounds of silver for his pound of gold.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this is precisely what did happen. Hamilton made a mistake in fixing the ratio at 15 to 1. Gold was worth a little more than 15 to 1 in the market, the actual commercial ratio being at that time 15.17 to 1, which will appear from the table of ratios which I will append to my remarks. The consequence was that gold very soon disappeared from circulation, and from 1810 to 1834 there was not any gold seen or to be had in our country. Its absence was noted in the discussions here in Congress, and measures were discussed and plans proposed to recover our share and to maintain it in circulation. Manifestly, gold had gone where it could do better.

In France a pound of gold would exchange for 15½ pounds of silver, and in most other European countries a like ratio prevailed. To correct this inequality, in 1834, when Jackson was President, the ratio was changed by reducing the weight of the gold coins and thus bringing the metals into the relation of 15.98 to 1, or, as commonly expressed, 16 to 1, the present ratio. Here again an error was committed, for the commercial ratio was then—1834—15.73 to 1, instead of that agreed upon. This time silver was undervalued, and consequently silver at once disappeared. It is a fact that from that time down to 1873 the silver dollar did not circulate, but gold took its place.

GRESHAM'S LAW.

Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the question of relative value or ratios is at the bottom of this whole controversy, I beg leave to call attention to, and explain the operation of, what is known as Gresham's law. As early as the sixteenth century, Sir Thomas Gresham, a wealthy English merchant and philanthropist, discovered and proclaimed this law of finance, viz, that if there is a depreciated coin circulating by the side of a full-weight coin in a country, the depreciated or bad money will drive the good money out of circulation. This law, based perhaps upon human selfishness, is universal and unvarying in its operation. Whoever has two coins, one of which only is clipped, mutilated, or debased, but either of which will pass, will always rid himself of the damaged coin and keep the other. It is for this same reason that cheap money drives out dear money.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I shall not subscribe to any particular dogma or set of views; neither do I wish to be classified as my able friend from Massachusetts [Mr. EVERETT] has said, as any kind of an "ist," but I do earnestly desire that we adhere to that policy and enact that legislation which will give us both gold and silver in circulation. It is true we have them both in circulation now, and it is also true that the legal or coinage ratio and the commercial ratio are wider apart than they have ever been at any time in history. But how is this accomplished, and how long could this be maintained? It is accomplished by the Government standing in the breach and offering to and actually making good the difference. It is true the silver dollar has a bullion value of only 58 cents, but the Government says she will take it for taxes, for customs, and for all public dues, and inasmuch as the Government has a great capacity for taxes, customs, and public dues, the silver dollar takes the place of the gold and performs the same function.

Again, the Government is pledged by law, in express terms, to the maintenance of the parity of the metals, and the Secretary of the Treasury, as I believe, honestly obeying the spirit of that law, is paying over the Government counter, on coin certificates issued under the Sherman law, either gold or silver at the option of the holder. I know the discretion is with him, but should he at any time refuse the gold, then, in my humble judgment, silver would at once be discredited, and the only thread which holds them together would be broken and the metals parted forever.

THE DECLINE IN THE PRICE OF SILVER.

But gentlemen say that the depreciation in silver is due to hostile legislation; that free coinage at the ratio to be fixed by

law of 16 to 1 will "restore silver," will "rehabilitate" silver, whatever that may mean: that the opening of our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver will, *eo instanti* and *ipso facto*, spring the price and close the chasm.

Mr. Speaker, if I ever believed that—and I presume I did—I do not believe it now; if that were ever possible it is not possible now. There has been some legislative discrimination against silver both in this country and in Europe. It is true that the price of silver has declined almost simultaneously with this hostile legislation; but let us see whether this result can be attributed to that cause or whether what we observe is a mere coincidence. In other words, let us determine from the facts whether legislation beat down the price of silver, or whether increase in its production did not suggest the hostile legislation.

I wish to call the attention of the House to a table which I have before me, prepared under the direction of the Treasury Department, showing the production of gold and silver in the world for the last hundred years. By reference to this table it will be seen that, commencing in 1792 and continuing down to 1848, a period of fifty-seven years, the average annual product was about $30,000,000. Beginning in 1849 and continuing down to 1860, the average annual product was about $40,000,000. From 1860 to 1870 the average annual product was about $50,000,000. From 1870 to 1880 the product increased to $80,000,000 per annum; and from 1880 to the present time it has increased to an average of about $137,000,000 per annum.

The most marked increase, perhaps, was the increase from the year 1870 to the year 1871; and I call attention to the figures for those years. The amount of the product for 1870 was $51,575,000; in 1871 the amount of the product was $61,050,000, or an increase of nearly $10,000,000 in a single year. From that time the increase has been gradual but enormous, advancing at the rate of about $8,000,000 per annum. So that, beginning with 1792, when the annual product was about $25,000,000 or $30,000,000 per annum, we find that in 1892 the product of the world's mines amounted to $196,605,000.

The mines of the United States produced, in 1880, 1,700,000 ounces of gold and 30,000,000 of silver, or seventeen times as much silver as gold. In 1890 they produced 1,500,000 ounces of gold and 60,000,000 ounces of silver, or forty times as much silver as gold. The ratio in value of silver to gold was, in 1872, 15.63 to 1; in 1882, 18.19 to 1; in 1892 it is worth about 28.52 to 1 of gold.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we must distinguish between cause and coincidence. It is true that hostile legislation began about 1872, and it is true that about that time silver began to decline in the market. Was it the hostile legislation which caused it to decline, or was it the enormous increase in the output of the mines, to which I have called attention? I leave this question for thoughful men to determine; but to my humble judgment it seems perfectly clear that the increase in the output of the mines, rather than hostile legislation, caused the decline.

Again, we must not forget the cheapened cost of production as an element in the reduction of price. We have improved machinery and increased facilities for transportation, the mines are more accessible to the people, and capital has found rich rewards for its investment. Mining, especially silver mining, has

become one of our industries. It is not therefore wonderful that the production of silver should increase and that the price should decline.

SILVER MONOMETALLISM.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we are face to face with the operation of the financial law to which I referred, and we must act like men commissioned to discharge a great responsibility in an emergency. We must act intelligently and without regard to our feelings. If we do this, it seems to me we shall be obliged to come to the conclusion that if we continue the purchase and coinage of silver at the present ratio, notwithstanding its great disparity to gold in commercial value, we shall ultimately and speedily drive the gold out of the country and shall find ourselves upon a silver monometallic basis.

We are asked to declare by law that 1 pound of gold is only worth 16 pounds of silver, when, in fact, it is worth 28.52 pounds in the world's markets. We may so declare, but we can not make it so. We may coin the silver, but we must part with the gold.

I have before me, Mr. Speaker, in tabulated form, a statement of the monetary systems of the several nations of the world, and I make this declaration here, without any fear of successful contradiction, that there is no nation at this time on the face of the earth maintaining the free and unlimited coinage of silver in which gold circulates by its side. If we are to judge by the experience of other nations, or by our own in the past, if the ordinary laws which are known to govern the financial world are to prevail here in our country, then what I say must be true, that if we continue in the path we are now pursuing we shall come, and inevitably, to a silver basis.

It is also true that there is no country on the face of the earth where gold does circulate that silver can not be also found in circulation. It helps to fill out the volume of the currency; it supplements the gold and aids in performing the functions of money. Wherever gold is found in circulation silver goes with it hand in hand.

This being true and being acknowledged on all hands, it seems to me that we ought to be able to find a path where we can maintain both metals in circulation, and in doing so keep, as I have always insisted we should, as large a volume of currency composed of both the precious metals as the people can use or need in their business affairs. It is not well to indulge in terms of denunciation. We can not arrive at correct conclusions by taking counsel either of our feelings or our fears. If we proceed in defiance of the operation of the Gresham law, and then sit down at last amid the wreck and ruin which will on every hand serve as monuments of our folly, we shall not then be able to excuse ourselves by harsh epithets and bitter reproaches heaped upon those who warned us of the coming danger. As well might we denounce the law of gravitation, and curse Newton for having discovered it, because we sometimes fall and suffer through its operation.

EFFECT OF UNLIMITED SILVER COINAGE.

Mr. Speaker, what will happen if we open our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1? Certainly, every person who may own any silver bullion may send it here and have it coined into American dollars. To-day in all

the markets of the civilized world, silver is worth about 75 cents per fine ounce. The silver contained in our dollar is therefore worth just 58 cents. Suppose we permit the silver-miners and all the owners of the stock of bar silver to deposit in the mint 58 cents' worth of silver and to take away therefor a standard silver dollar. Who is benefited by that speculation? The Government? No; she has done the work and paid the cost; she has created out of 58 cents a coin which she herself must take in payment of taxes at its full face value of a dollar.

WILL IT AID THE DEBTOR?

Some one says: Yes, but it will relieve the debtor class; it will give him a cheap dollar with which to pay his debt. This, Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly deny. And first let me say that there are no more mischievous or misleading statements made in this entire discussion than those which declare this controversy to be between debtor and creditor.

Gentlemen have supposed that they could get aid and sympathy here by an appeal to prejudice; they have arrayed section against section and class against class, and have not left untouched any chord of human passion. This is not a contest between debtor and creditor; between rich and poor. The President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury, and all who cooperate with them are not deep-dyed conspirators in league with Shylocks, who have come to an agreement to drive struggling humanity to the wall. No; it is simply a question whether the Republic will calmly, dispassionately, and sensibly settle her financial policy and establish it upon sound business principles.

But, Mr. Speaker, how is the debtor to be benefited by the 58-cent dollar? How is he to obtain it? We must remember that these gentlemen tell us that as soon as we get their plan in operation the 58-cent dollar will become the equal of a gold dollar; that it will have the same intrinsic value and purchasing power of a gold dollar. Now, if this be true, will some gentleman please tell me wherein and how the man who must get this dollar has been benefited? If it is to be worth as much as a gold dollar, must we not work as long for it, or bring as much product for it, or make as great a sacrifice to obtain it, as we should for a gold dollar? But I do not believe that unlimited silver coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1 will bring it to a parity with gold. I believe that the instant that the law should go into effect gold would go to a premium; that banks and money changers would buy, and sell, and hoard gold; and that immediately our gold would disappear from circulation, the volume of currency be to that extent contracted, all values unsettled, all business suspended, credit withdrawn, and that in the readjustment which must at last be made the poor debtor himself would be the greatest sufferer. In the mean time we shall have become a silver country, just as Mexico and China, and the half-civilized countries of South America are to-day.

Mr. Speaker, I turn away from the contemplation of such a possible calamity as I would from the defeat of our national arms in battle.

THE CHANGE OF RATIOS.

We are next met with the proposition to change the ratio. Mr. Speaker, I shall not consider these several propositions sep-

arately, but together. What is to be gained at this time by a change of ratios? How can we know that we shall hit the happy medium to which the metals will finally gravitate and at which they will balance and remain in any kind of stable equilibrium. My own opinion is that this can be accomplished only by international agreement. No one, I believe, denies that international bimetallism is practicable.

But we can not reach international bimetallism through free coinage. We can suspend the purchase of silver bullion, we can repeal the Sherman law by which we are obliged to buy, whether we need it or not, 4½ tons of silver every day, and we can keep our silver now in circulation, coined as it is at a ratio of 16 to 1, and by pledging gold in exchange for it we can keep it at par with gold just as we do our nickels and coppers and subsidiary silver—we need not lose one dollar from the circulation. We can do this and then we can make some provision for the future. Besides, Mr. Speaker, there is another equally fatal objection to the proposed change of ratios, and that is the cost and danger of making the change. In answer to an inquiry made by me some days ago, the Secretary of the Treasury has kindly furnished me with a statement upon the subject, which I will read:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 19, 1893.

SIR: In reply to your letter of the 17th instant, making inquiry as to what would be the probable loss incident to the change from the present coining ratio between gold and silver, 1 to 16, and that of 1 to 20, you are respectfully informed that the number of silver dollars already coined aggregates 419,232,450.

Without any allowance for abrasion, and loss incident to melting the same, the coining value of these dollars, at a ratio of 1 to 20, would be $333,222,162, or $84,110,288 less than their present face value.

To recoin these dollars at a ratio of 1 to 20 would require the addition of $1,376,700 ounces of new bullion, which, at the average price paid for silver under the act of July 14, 1890 ($0.93), would cost $75,883,700.

In addition to this I estimate that there would be a loss from abrasion and in the melting of these dollars of at least $3,000,000, which amount together with the difference in the face value of the coins ($84,110,288) would have to be reimbursed to the Treasury by an appropriation for that purpose.

From the fact that the silver dollars are distributed throughout the country it would be necessary, as they are redeemed at the several sub-treasuries, to transport them to the mints, and the expense of transportation for $300,000,000, the amount outside of the stock on hand at the sub-treasuries, and mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans, would average at least 1½ per cent. or $4,500,000.

I therefore estimate the cost of recoining the silver dollars already coined as follows:

New bullion to be added	$75,883,700
Loss by abrasion and melting	3,000,000
Cost of coinage (labor, materials, etc.)	6,290,000
Copper for alloy	68,206
Transportation of dollars to mints	4,500,000
Total	89,741,906

Very respectfully,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

HON. GEORGE W. COOPER,
House of Representatives.

Can we afford this experiment? Is it necessary?

No. If we are to have international bimetallism it would prove a serious hindrance. If we are not, it would be a useless cost. If we are to abandon what now is purely an arbitrary ratio, that of 16 to 1, in hopes of striking the commercial ratio, why take 20 to 1? It is not plausible, even. It can not be seriously considered.

Mr. Speaker, we are told that the people demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver and that they expect us at this time to make the experiment, regardless of consequences. In this connection much is said about platforms and pledges and party politics. Representatives who have heretofore been known to favor the free coinage of silver, but who are now convinced that under the existing conditions the experiment would prove disastrous, are taunted with the charge of inconsistency and threatened with retirement to private life.

Well, Mr. Speaker, I have gone over all that ground, and I have this to say in answer: Very many people, like their representatives, at one time believed that by the free coinage of silver we could obtain a larger amount of currency, and at the same time maintain its stability and that of the public credit. At that time it was hoped and believed that the depression in the price of silver was temporary merely and due to hostile legislation only. Let me call your attention to what was said on this subject by the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] at the time of the passage of this Sherman law. I read from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 8, 1890:

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, if this bill becomes a law and is executed in good faith, as we are bound to assume that it will be, and four and one-half million ounces of silver are purchased each month it will give great relief, and I am confident it will be an object lesson that will lead to free coinage.

* * * * * * * *

I believe that we shall purchase the full four and a half million ounces each month; that it will raise the price of silver and enhance the price of farm products, relieve the American people more than many now anticipate, and that ultimately we shall have the full use of silver.

Senator Plumb, who closed the debate in behalf of the bill, also said, on page 7104:

Mr. PLUMB. If this bill is passed my own belief is that during the next Congress, if not before, so easily and noiselessly will this work, so helpful will it be to all the people of the United States, so thoroughly will it commend itself to the good judgment of the people, that the next step will not only be free coinage, but it will be a short one and taken by the practically unanimous concurrence of the American people.

These were the conditions upon which men declared in favor of free coinage. They were led to believe, and did believe, that the parity of the metals could be and would be restored at the ratio of 16 to 1. I myself believed it, and so believing was glad to join with the gentlemen and use my utmost endeavor to make it so.

But, Mr. Speaker, their prophecies have failed. The times have changed. Instead of silver having gone up to 16 to 1, it has gone down to 28 to 1. Because I had hoped to follow these gentlemen up, is it true that I am to be considered inconsistent because I refuse to follow them down? Or is it true that a Representative charged with the grave responsibility of legislation, upon which depends the weal or woe of millions of his fellow-citizens, must blindly, yes, stubbornly, follow any certain dictum previously made, but which, when interpreted in the light of new surroundings, leads to consequences not contemplated, and which he afterwards learns would inevitably bring harm instead of good?

Representatives are commissioned to think as well as act. Look at the condition of our country. Confidence is destroyed,

capital is unemployed, business is stagnant, labor is idle in the streets, yea, even in some places begging for bread, and winter is coming on.

It is believed that it is within our power to relieve the situation. The President has called us together that we may take some action, and now we are told that we must look out for ourselves; that we must settle this question with reference to our own political fortunes, so that we may hold our seats hereafter.

Mr. Speaker, the way to be consistent is to do right; and the only road to public honor is along the path of self-denial. Whoever acts out his own honest convictions will have his self-respect, and by and by the confidence of others. But he is to be pitied indeed who belies his own convictions to gain some temporary advantage, for sooner or later he will be known as a dishonest man.

THE PARTY PLATFORM ON SILVER.

Some gentlemen have assumed to speak for the Democratic party and say that if we do not provide for free coinage at 16 to 1 we shall not keep our platform pledges to the people.

Mr. Speaker, who are the people, and how are we to know when they have spoken, or what they have said when they have spoken. Sir, the district which I have the honor to represent is equal in intelligence and in patriotism to any in this Union. That district in its preliminary conventions, selected for its delegates to the Chicago convention two able and representative men, each of whom was unalterably pledged to the nomination of Grover Cleveland for the Presidency. At Chicago they met the duly accredited representatives of their Democratic constituencies from all the States and Territories, and there was practical unanimity in favor of the President's nomination. These delegates were the direct representatives of the people. It was remarked on all sides that the convention was free from the domination of the professional politician, and in this respect it contrasted sharply with the convention which was held at Minneapolis. If ever a man was nominated by the people, that man was Grover Cleveland. This convention also gave us a platform of principles upon which their candidate should stand, and to this platform I wish to call attention. That part which refers to this subject reads as follows:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters as well as its author anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper money currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes—the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

That, Mr. Speaker, is the Democratic platform. The Democratic party is in favor of the free coinage of both metals without discrimination against either, "but," to use the very language of the platform, (1) "the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value," or (2) "be adjusted through international agreement," or (3) "by

such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals." Sir, I am willing to enact that platform into a law and I will vote for free coinage with any one or with all of the three conditions named.

Why, Mr. Speaker, I am a partisan. I do not wish to have it understood otherwise. I believe in partisan politics. I do not believe that the world has ever seen the triumph and consummation of any great reform without the intervention of partisanship. Whenever a great man has evolved an idea which he believed would help or bless mankind he has always endeavored to bring others to his side, that, by their united efforts, his hopes might be realized. I am a partisan Democrat. I do not say I should always follow my party where I knew it was clearly wrong, but it is with great pleasure that I follow it now, because I can see that its present course leads up to that high and solid ground which insures individual prosperity and national honor.

WHO LEAVES THE PLATFORM.

But now, when we are seeking to carry out that platform, endeavoring to enact its principles into laws, what do we find? We see that some gentlemen who have coöperated with us in the party have plunged into the trenches lately evacuated by the enemy, and having seized their deserted guns, they now fire into the ranks of the very party to which they claim allegiance.

Who now defends the Sherman law? Not the Republican party. Who now standing behind that law use it as a further menace to public weal and demand some kind of concession and compromise as a condition to its repeal? Not those who are responsible for its existence; not those who gave it birth. No; they have disowned and dishonored it. Shall any of us who are Democrats now defend it? We lately found great cause for congratulation that we as a party had at last become thoroughly united for a reformation of the tariff. Before this Congress adjourns we fondly hope that that good work will be fully entered upon. But suppose that when we begin to write the schedules some gentlemen, who happen to live where protected interests are located, shall plant themselves behind the McKinley law and fight until the Government subscribes for an indefinite number of blankets, or steel-plated ships, or other product. Suppose we hear them say, You shall not strike down our industry; you shall not "lay the bloody hand of sacrifice" upon wool, nor woolen goods, nor upon steel; you shall not proceed until we are fully placated and provided for.

MONEY OR MINES.

Mr. Speaker, let it be understood that when men talk about striking down silver they mean the silver industry, not the silver money. And let it be known that when men wish this Government to put its shoulder under the burden of free coinage, unaided by other countries, they propose that we shall attempt to pay $1.29 per ounce for all the silver that may be offered, when to-day it is only worth 75 cents per ounce in the market. Let it be understood that every coined dollar which now bears the imprint of our mints is with difficulty made as good as gold, and that by the adoption of free coinage our entire stock must inevitably fall into depreciation and dishonor, then we can clearly see what the gentlemen mean. It is not the silver in the currency

for which they fight: but the silver in the mines and the bullion which may be in stock.

No, Mr. Speaker, we are for the silver dollar. We propose to make and keep it good. We are not hostile to the silver miners of Colorado and Nevada; they are our fellow citizens; but we can not subscribe to the doctrine that because we have used silver as money in the past, and that, relying thereon, they have developed the mines and made heavy investments, that therefore we as a nation have incurred an implied obligation to continue to coin all the silver that comes, whether we need it or not. You will not find that in a Democratic platform. You will not be able to either drive or persuade us to enact it into a law.

BIMETALLIC FRANCE.

But gentlemen refer us to France, and say that she carries $700,000,000 of silver in her currency, while we have barely $300,000,000 in ours with nearly twice the population. They ask why, if France can use a per capita circulation of silver so large as that, why can not also we. This is a reasonable and natural question, and inasmuch as it has been often asked both here and elsewhere I have been at some pains to get the facts and the reasons for this condition.

There are very many points in the laws and monetary system of France which have been entirely overlooked or misunderstood by the gentlemen who so often hold her up as a model. France has not free silver coinage. France has not national bimetallism; she has not even international bimetallism in the sense in which gentlemen use that term. France has the largest stock of metal money of any nation on the globe. She has $800,000,000 of gold, $700,000,000 of silver. Her entire per capita circulation is $41.07, which is also greater than that of any other nation.

It is natural that gentlemen who desire a large increase in the coin money of the country should turn to France. I, too, Mr. Speaker, desire that we shall have more money—more coin money—as much, in fact, as the people need or will use. I am willing, therefore, to take lessons from France; to learn, if possible, how she circulates this unparalleled volume of currency and at the same time maintains the parity of her metals and the stability of her whole financial fabric as well. How does she do it, Mr. Speaker? In the first place, she does not do it alone. She has entered into covenant relations with Italy, Greece, Belgium, and Switzerland; this helps. I am willing to try that part.

In the second place, she has limited silver coinage. We must have some limit, too, if we follow France. In the third place, these nations which I have mentioned, and which constitute the Latin Union, have provided in their compact for the final redemption by each nation of its own silver coin and the payment of any differences after settlement in gold; in other words, for ultimate gold redemption. I hold in my hand a document prepared by the Director of the Mint which contains a synopsis of these laws, and I will read the provisions to which I have referred:

The convention of the 23d of December, 1865, expired on the 1st of January, 1886. A new convention of the 8th of November, 1878, prolonged the duration of the Latin Union for five years. The convention now in force is dated November 6, 1885. By its terms the suspension of the coinage of the 5-franc silver piece is maintained in the countries of the Union, but any of the contracting states may resume the free coinage of silver on condition of exchanging during the entire duration of the convention, the 5-franc silver pieces bearing its stamp and circulating in the other states of the Union, for gold, on demand. The latter, however, would then be at liberty not to receive the 5-franc silver pieces of the state that resumed the free coinage of the white metal. It was likewise stipulated in the convention of 1885 that the coins of each of the signatory powers should be received by the treasuries of the others as well as by the banks of France and Belgium, and that the Union might be terminated any time after January 1, 1891, by giving one year's notice.

During the year following the termination of the convention, the several governments are to proceed to the exchange and return to the country that issued them of the 5-franc silver pieces. Any balance remaining after the exchange has to be settled in gold, or bills of exchange, on the debtor state.

Here, then, we have:
First. International agreement;
Second. Limited silver coinage; and,
Third. Ultimate gold redemption.

In addition to these, two other facts should be mentioned: First, France has no paper money in circulation of less denomination than 50-franc notes. Second, the French people really prefer their silver coin; and, perhaps because they have confidence in it, gladly accept it and miserly hoard it. Are the gentlemen willing to adopt the bimetallism of France or the Latin Union? No, Mr. Speaker; they would like to obtain the result, but they are unwilling to adopt the means by which alone it can be achieved.

CURRENCY AND PRICES.

One of the errors into which gentlemen here and elsewhere have fallen, is that the volume of money in existence regulates and fixes the value of property. This is not true. We need no better illustration of the inaccuracy of that proposition than the conditions which now confront us. There is more money in the United States to-day than ever before. I have before me a table prepared by the Treasury Department, showing the per capita circulation in this country for a series of years, and at no time, I repeat, has the volume been so great as now. In 1860 it was $13.65, and it has gradually increased to $24.44.

It is not the money in existence, but the money in circulation that affects prices. We are now witness to the fact that with a very large volume of money in existence we may have but little in actual circulation. Much more, therefore, depends upon the velocity of the current than upon the volume. Again, money not only multiplies itself by its activity, but it is supplemented by credit. By far the greater part of the world's exchanges are made without the intervention of actual money. What part now has credit in measuring values?

Mr. Speaker, the doctrine that the volume of actual currency controls prices, which has been quoted here, is entirely erroneous and should be discarded. It is the volume of actual money, supplemented by whatever is taken and used as money, which controls prices. It is cash and credit combined that forms the volume of our currency.

The philosophy which gentlemen have imbibed and teach is drawn from the experience and observation of that day when every man had his own "strong box," or carried his treasure in a leather belt; of the day of the camel and the caravan; of walled cities and fortified towns.

What might with some safety have been affirmed of a time or

country in which every exchange was performed with actual cash, would be wholly unsatisfactory when applied to a country and conditions like ours.

WHAT CAUSES A FINANCIAL PANIC.

Mr. Speaker, if we would decide this question intelligently, we must look beneath the surface: we must not treat the symptoms, merely, but endeavor to get at the root of the evil and apply the remedy there. It is not a lack of money that causes a panic. It is the panic that causes the lack of money. The word currency is from the Latin *currere*, to run; the same from which our word courier is derived. It is the currency that runs which serves the people. Is it not plain that any legislation or policy which would cause any portion of the currency to cease to run would to that extent operate as a measure of contraction? We have more money, as I have already shown, than ever before, but it will not run.

My friend, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BLANCHARD], likened the currency to the blood, which is the circulating medium of the body. The figure is not inapt, and I quite agree with him in his opposition to phlebotomy as applied either to the human body or to the body politic. To bleed either might be to debilitate or destroy.

But, Mr. Speaker, no one proposes to draw away from the currency any part of the vital fluid.

The trouble is that we are, by a most unnatural process, forcibly injecting about 4½ tons averdupois of white metal every day into the patient's veins, and it is this only which we propose to suspend. But I like the figure of the gentleman and will follow it a step further. We must not forget the important part which the heart plays in this matter of the circulation, for the blood will not run when the heart ceases to beat. If our currency shall run, there must be in the country some pulsating energy, some motive power, and this is and can be no other than the heart of hope, the spirit of trust and confidence. It is this that speeds and spreads the actual money through the channels of trade, and it is this that, with magic power, breathes life into new forms, with which it supplements and expands the volume of the actual currency to the limit of the country's need. Just as our volunteer soldiery has, when called upon, filled and swelled the ranks of the regular Army, so does credit augment our actual money.

Mr. Speaker, it is in the effect produced upon credit that the panic contracts the currency more than in all other ways combined. As I have said, cash is supplemented by credit. Credit is one of the necessary concomitan's of our civilization. One man's debt is another man's property, and, in a certain sense, in some forms, may even be his money.

The Comptroller of the Currency, in his last annual report, treating of this subject, says (I read from page 31, volume 1, of that report):

The subject of the currency of the country, always one of interest and importance, is especially so at the present time, because of the differences which obtain in the minds of the people in regard to what the currency should be and under what authority it should be created.

It will appear from the statistics given in this report to what extent the use of money is minimized by means of clearing-house organizations in our principal cities, and, for the purpose of showing to what a limited extent

actual money enters into the business transactions of the country, I have followed the precedent set by my predecessors in office, in 1881 and 1890, and asked all the banks under the supervision of this Bureau to report all receipts for the 15th day of September, 1892, separately stated and classified.

My object in this report has been to furnish reliable data from which the public could see and realize how small a percentage of business transactions are represented by actual money, and how impossible it is for the Government to furnish a volume of currency sufficient to meet the wants of the people at all times; that is, in times of general distrust or quasi panic.

Over 90 per cent of all business transactions are done by means of credit. When the public lose confidence, and credit is impaired and refused, over 90 per cent of all business transactions are directly affected. It is easy to realize how impossible it is for the remaining 10 per cent of money to carry on the business of the country without monetary stringency and financial distress.

The following table, taken from that report, will convey some idea of the limited extent of the use of money as compared with the various forms of credit:

United States.	September 17, 1890. 3,474 banks.		September 15, 1892. 3,473 banks.	
		Per ct.		*Per ct.*
Gold coin	$3,702,772	1.13	$2,907,017	.88
Silver coin	1,399,901	.43	1,372,054	.41
Paper currency	24,210,463	7.40	25,815,621	8.10
Checks, drafts, etc	297,965,025	91.04	300,110,321	90.61
Total	327,278,251	100.00	331,205,213	100.00

Some gentlemen may ask, Why not have more money and less credit? My answer to that is that with credit you would not need the money and you would not want it, and without credit it would not circulate and you could not get it, however great the volume might be. Besides, the world is not moving in that direction. The time has come when "a good name is rather to be chosen," even in the commercial world, "than great riches." A good name will cause the transfer of more property to-day than all the camels of Job could have carried. A good name unlocks the vaults of the usurer, turns the wheels of industry, and sets the sails of commerce upon the seas. Cash is the law of the savage, confidence an inspiration and instrument of civilization.

Whatever, therefore, weakens or destroys confidence contracts the volume not only of the actual currency but all kinds of credit which take the form and fill the place of currency as well.

In my humble judgment the present deplorable condition of our financial affairs is due and attributable more largely and directly to the operation of our silver policy than to any other or to all other causes combined. The President has well said in his message that—

The knowledge in business circles among our own people that our Government can not make its fiat equivalent to intrinsic value, nor keep inferior money on a parity with superior money by its own independent efforts, has resulted in such a lack of confidence at home in the stability of currency values that capital refuses its aid to new enterprises, while millions are actually withdrawn from the channels of trade and commerce to become idle and unproductive in the hands of timid owners. Foreign investors, equally alert, not only decline to purchase American securities, but make haste to sacrifice those which they already have.

Mr. Speaker, it is not often that a people is able so clearly to trace its misfortunes to the existence of bad laws. It is not often that the opportunity is given to legislative bodies to afford

a specific and a speedy remedy for evils with which a nation is afflicted. That occasion is before us; that opportunity is ours. For that relief a great people pleads to-day. Shall we give it or shall we withhold it?

It is not necessary, in order to arrive at a correct conclusion of this momentous question, that we should appeal either to class or sectional prejudice, or invoke any feeling of hostility or hatred toward foreign nations. There is no blessing which could come from a correct solution of this problem that would not, like the dew of heaven, fall equally upon all, and there could come no evil out of it that would not, in time, like a foul contagion, spread from the humblest cot to the proudest palace.

Love of country, true patriotism, does not consist in self-vaunting; it is manifest in sacrifice and service; it is to be esteemed as much for the wisdom of its purpose as by the measure of its devotion.

Let us seek to do that which, in the calm, clear light of reason seems best, not for any special interest, not for any class or section, but for the welfare of our common country. Let us so act that the Republic shall not be hindered in her progress; so that she shall go forward and not backward; so that she shall not follow, but lead in that great procession of nations, which, though sometimes halting, still moves gradually and grandly on toward the high destiny of the human race. [Loud applause.]

Friday, August 25, 1893.

Mr. COOPER of Indiana said:

Mr. SPEAKER: On a former occasion, when I had the honor to address the House at some length on the subject of the repeal of the Sherman silver law I made reference to various tables which I now desire to put in the RECORD.

First, I call attention to the table showing the amount of gold and silver produced in the world during the last one hundred years. That table is as follows:

Production of gold and silver in the world, 1792–1892.

Calendar years.	Gold.	Silver (coining value).	Total.
1792–1800	$106,407,000	$328,860,000	$435,267,000
1801–1810	118,152,000	371,677,000	489,829,000
1811–1820	76,963,000	224,786,000	301,749,000
1821–1830	94,479,000	191,444,000	285,923,000
1831–1840	134,841,000	274,930,000	409,771,000
1841–1848	291,144,000	259,520,000	550,664,000
1849	27,100,000	39,000,000	66,100,000
1850	44,450,000	39,000,000	83,450,000
1851	67,600,000	40,000,000	107,600,000
1852	132,750,000	40,600,000	173,350,000
1853	155,450,000	40,600,000	196,050,000
1854	127,450,000	40,600,000	168,050,000
1855	135,075,000	40,600,000	175,675,000
1856	147,600,000	40,650,000	188,250,000
1857	133,275,000	40,650,000	173,925,000
1858	124,650,000	40,650,000	165,300,000
1859	124,850,000	40,750,000	165,600,000
1860	119,250,000	40,800,000	160,050,000
1861	113,800,000	44,700,000	158,500,000
1862	107,750,000	45,200,000	152,950,000
1863	106,950,000	49,200,000	156,150,000

Production of gold and silver in the world, 1792–1892.—Continued.

Calendar years.	Gold.	Silver (coining value).	Total.
1864	$113,000,000	$51,700,000	$164,700,000
1865	120,300,000	51,950,000	172,150,000
1866	121,100,000	50,750,000	171,850,000
1867	104,025,000	54,225,000	158,250,000
1868	109,725,000	50,225,000	159,950,000
1869	106,225,000	47,500,000	153,725,000
1870	106,850,000	51,575,000	158,425,000
1871	107,000,000	61,050,000	168,050,000
1872	99,600,000	65,250,000	164,850,000
1873	90,250,000	81,800,000	178,050,000
1874	90,750,000	71,500,000	162,250,000
1875	97,500,000	80,500,000	178,000,000
1876	103,700,000	87,600,000	191,300,000
1877	114,000,000	81,000,000	195,000,000
1878	119,000,000	95,000,000	214,000,000
1879	109,000,000	96,000,000	205,000,000
1880	106,500,000	96,700,000	203,200,000
1881	103,000,000	102,000,000	205,000,000
1882	102,000,000	111,800,000	213,800,000
1883	95,400,000	115,300,000	210,700,000
1884	101,700,000	105,580,000	207,280,000
1885	108,400,000	118,500,000	226,900,000
1886	106,100,000	120,600,000	226,700,000
1887	105,775,000	124,281,000	230,056,000
1888	110,197,000	140,706,000	250,903,000
1889	123,184,000	162,159,000	285,648,000
1890	113,150,000	172,235,000	285,385,000
1891	120,519,000	186,733,000	307,252,000
1892	130,817,000	196,605,000	327,422,000
Total	5,633,908,000	5,104,961,000	10,738,869,000

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of the Mint, August 16, 1893.

Second. I call attention to the decrease in the market price of silver as shown by the following table:

Highest, lowest, and average price of silver bullion, and value of a fine ounce, bullion value of a United States silver dollar, and commercial ratio of silver to gold, by fiscal years, 1874 to 1893.

Fiscal years.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average London price per ounce standard, .925.	Equivalent value of a fine ounce with exchange at par, $4.8665.	Equivalent value of a fine ounce based on average price.	Bullion value of United States silver dollar at average price of silver, exchange at par.	Commercial ratio of silver to gold.
	Pence.	*Pence.*	*Pence.*				
1873–'74	59¾	57⅞	58.312	$1.27826	$1.28247	$0.98865	16.17
1874–'75	58⅛	55½	56.875	1.25127	1.25022	.96277	16.52
1875–'76	57⅛	50	52.750	1.15184	1.15064	.88687	17.94
1876–'77	58⅛	50½	54.812	1.20154	1.20191	.92931	17.20
1877–'78	55¼	52½	52.562	1.15222	1.15257	.89116	17.94
1878–'79	52 3/16	48⅞	50.812	1.11366	1.11816	.86152	18.55
1879–'80	53¼	51⅛	52.218	1.14436	1.14397	.88509	18.06
1880–'81	52⅜	51	51.937	1.13852	1.13508	.88057	18.15
1881–'82	52 1/16	50¾	51.812	1.13623	1.13817	.87880	18.19

Highest, lowest, and average price of silver bullion, etc.—Continued.

Fiscal years.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average London price per ounce standard, .925.	Equivalent value of a fine ounce with exchange at par, $4.8665.	Equivalent value of a fine ounce based on average price.	Bullion value of a United States silver dollar at average price of silver, exchange at par.	Commercial ratio of silver to gold.
	Pence.	*Pence.*	*Pence.*				
1882–'83	52 1/16	50	51.023	$1.11826	$1.11912	$0.89490	18.48
1883–'84	51 1/2	50 5/8	50.791	1.11339	1.11529	.89115	18.56
1884–'85	50 1/2	48 1/4	49.843	1.09252	1.09226	.87407	18.92
1885–'86	49 5/8	42	47.038	1.03112	1.03295	.79750	20.04
1886–'87	47 1/8	42	44.843	.98301	.98148	.76029	21.02
1887–'88	45 3/4	41 1/2	43.675	.95741	.95617	.74008	21.59
1888–'89	44	41 1/2	42.499	.93163	.93510	.72055	22.18
1889–'90	49	42	44.196	.96883	.96839	.74963	21.33
1890–'91	54 1/2	43	47.714	1.04595	1.04780	.80988	19.83
1891–'92	46 1/2	39	42.797	.93848	.93723	.72430	22.07
1892–'93	40 5/8	30 1/4	38.375	.84123	.84263	.65063	24.57
July	34 1/2	32 1/4	33.060	.72471	.72037	.56062	28.52

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of the Mint, August 1, 1893.

Third. Upon the subject of the amount of money in circulation I submit the following table prepared by the Treasury Department:

Amounts of money in the United States, and in circulation, on July 1 of each year from 1860 to 1892, inclusive.

July 1—	Amount of money in United States.	Amount in circulation.	Population June 1.	Money per capita.	Circulation per capita.
1860	$442,102,477	$435,407,252	31,443,321	$14.06	$13.85
1861	452,005,707	448,405,707	32,064,000	14.09	13.98
1862	358,452,979	334,697,744	32,704,000	10.96	10.23
1863	674,857,283	595,384,038	33,365,000	20.23	17.84
1864	705,588,067	669,641,478	34,046,000	20.72	19.67
1865	770,129,755	714,702,995	34,748,000	22.16	20.57
1866	794,357,254	673,488,244	35,460,000	21.27	18.99
1867	728,300,612	661,992,069	36,211,000	20.11	18.28
1868	716,583,578	680,103,661	36,973,000	19.38	18.39
1869	775,351,180	664,452,891	37,756,000	18.95	17.60
1870	722,868,461	675,212,794	38,558,371	18.73	17.50
1871	741,812,174	715,889,005	39,555,000	18.75	18.10
1872	767,721,565	738,309,549	40,596,000	18.70	18.19
1873	774,445,610	751,881,809	41,667,000	18.58	18.04
1874	806,024,781	776,083,031	42,796,000	18.83	18.13
1875	798,273,909	754,101,947	43,951,000	18.16	17.16
1876	790,083,284	757,009,388	45,137,000	17.52	16.12
1877	763,053,847	722,314,883	46,353,000	16.46	15.58
1878	791,253,576	729,132,634	47,598,000	16.62	15.32
1879	1,051,521,541	818,631,793	48,866,000	21.52	16.75
1880	1,205,929,197	973,382,228	50,155,783	24.04	19.41
1881	1,401,541,823	1,114,238,119	51,316,000	27.41	21.71
1882	1,480,331,719	1,174,290,419	52,495,000	28.20	22.37
1883	1,643,189,816	1,230,305,696	53,693,000	30.60	22.91
1884	1,705,454,189	1,243,925,969	54,911,000	31.06	22.65
1885	1,817,658,398	1,252,568,615	56,148,000	32.37	23.02
1886	1,805,559,694	1,252,700,525	57,404,000	31.50	21.82

Amounts of money in the United States, and in circulation, on July 1 of each year from 1860 to 1892, inclusive—Continued.

July 1—	Amount of money in United States.	Amount in circulation.	Population June 1.	Money per capita.	Circulation per capita.
1887	$1,900,442,672	$1,317,539,143	58,680,000	$32.39	$22.45
1888	2,062,955,949	1,372,170,870	59,974,000	34.39	22.88
1889	2,075,350,711	1,380,301,049	61,289,000	33.86	22.52
1890	2,144,226,159	1,429,251,270	62,622,250	34.24	22.82
1891	2,195,224,075	1,497,440,707	63,975,000	34.31	23.41
1892	2,372,599,501	1,601,347,187	65,520,000	36.21	24.44

NOTE.—The difference between the amount of money in the country and the amount in circulation represents the money in the Treasury.

Currency certificates, act of June 8, 1872, are included in the amount of United States notes in circulation in the tables for the years 1873 to 1891, inclusive; in 1892 they are reported separately.

The foregoing tables present the revised figures for each of the years given.

And also the following, from which it may be seen that we had in the country $9,149,692 more money on August 1, 1893, than we had at the same time last year, when there seemed to be sufficient for all demands:

Statement showing the amounts of gold and silver coins and certificates, United States notes, and national-bank notes in circulation August 1, 1893.

	General stock, coined or issued.	In Treasury.	Amount in circulation Aug. 1, 1893.	Amount in circulation Aug. 1, 1892.
Gold coin	$520,273,567	$103,363,626	$416,909,941	$410,447,360
Standard silver dollars	419,332,450	363,108,461	56,223,989	57,031,892
Subsidiary silver	76,563,878	12,556,749	64,007,129	63,346,937
Gold certificates	87,704,739	93,710	87,611,029	130,861,829
Silver certificates	333,031,501	2,843,114	330,188,390	327,336,823
Treasury notes, act July 14, 1890	148,286,348	4,512,210	143,774,138	101,756,301
United States notes	346,681,016	22,286,612	324,394,404	311,852,278
Currency certificates, act June 8, 1872	8,340,000	485,000	7,855,000	26,720,000
National-bank notes	183,755,147	3,620,150	180,134,997	166,595,935
Total	2,123,968,649	512,869,632	1,611,099,017	1,601,949,325

In further explanation of this table, it should be understood that of the item standard silver dollars, which the table shows are in the Treasury, viz., $363,108,461, the sum of $330,188,390 are really in circulation in the form of silver certificates, as is shown by the item under that head.

I call attention to this because my attention has been directed to an editorial in a very respectable newspaper, which undertakes to account for the panic partly upon the ground that the Government is hoarding these silver dollars, it having escaped the attention of the editor that these dollars were in circulation, but in the other form.

Since August 1, when this table was prepared, the circulation

has in various ways been very much increased. Secretary Carlisle, in a recent interview, said:

No greater mistake could be committed than to assume that the present financial embarrassment is caused by an actual scarcity of money in the country. The fact is that the amount of currency of all kinds in the country, outside of the United States Treasury, on the 25th day of the present month, was $58,452,350 greater than the amount outstanding on the 1st day of the month, and $70,594,783 more than the amount outstanding on the 1st day of September, 1892, when business was active and prosperous. There is money enough to transact all the legitimate business of the people, but the difficulty is that it has been withdrawn from circulation and hoarded. The true remedy is to restore confidence and credit, and thus put the money now in the country in circulation again.

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